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CLASSICAL WEEKLY

VOL. 32, NO. 13

February 6, 1939

WHOLE NO. 861

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS

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Classical Association of the Atlantic States Thirty-second Annual Meeting

THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES
WILL BE HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

FRIDAY, APRIL 28 AND SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 1939

HEADQUARTERS:

THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOTEL, CHESTNUT STREET AT NINTH

PROGRAM

FRIDAY AFTERNOON: GENERAL MEETING; PAPERS
FRIDAY EVENING: SUBSCRIPTION DINNER, GRAND BALLROOM
HOTEL BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
SATURDAY MORNING: MEETINGS AND DISCUSSION GROUPS
SATURDAY AFTERNOON: BUSINESS MEETING; PAPERS

The following distinguished scholars have signified their intention to read papers at the meeting: Professors ETHEL H. BREWSTER, T. R. S. BROUGHTON, W. L. CARR, MILDRED DEAN, GILBERT HIGHET, R. G. KENT, WHITNEY J. OATES, DAVID M. ROBINSON, HENRY T. ROWELL, LILY ROSS TAYLOR

Details of the extraordinary dinner program will follow later

CLASSICAL WEEKLY

Published weekly (each Monday) except in weeks in which there is an academic vacation or Armistice Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas, New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Easter, or Memorial Day. A volume contains approximately twenty-five issues.

Owner and Publisher: The Classical Association of the Atlantic States. Place of Publication: University of Pittsburgh, 4200 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

James Stinchcomb, Editor; Jotham Johnson, Associate Editor, University of Pittsburgh, 4200 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Penna.

John F. Gummere, Secretary and Treasurer, William Penn Charter School, Germantown, Philadelphia, Penna.

Contributing Editors: Robert H. Chastney, Lionel Cohen, Francis R. B. Godolphin, George D. Hadzsits, Eugene W. Miller, Bluma L. Trell, Edna White.

Price, \$2.00 per volume in the United States; elsewhere, \$2.50. All subscriptions run by the volume. Single numbers: to subscribers 15 cents, to others 25 cents, prepaid (otherwise 25 cents and 35 cents). If 'invoice' is required, 50 cents must be added to the subscription price; if affidavit to 'invoice' is required, one dollar must be added to the subscription price.

Entered as second-class matter October 14, 1938, at the post office at Pittsburgh, Pa., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 28, 1925, authorized October 14, 1938.

Volume 32 contains issues dated: October 10, 17, 24, 31; November 14, 28; December 5, 12, 19 (1938); January 9, 16, 23, February 6, 13, 27; March 6, 13, 20, 27; April 10, 17, 24; May 1, 8, 15, 22 (1939)

Printed by The Beaver Printing Company, Greenville, Pennsylvania.

VOL. 32, No. 13

FEBRUARY 6, 1939

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COMING ATTRACTIONS

REVIEWS

FEBRUARY 11-12—2 P.M.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Survey of the collection of Roman art

Lecturer: Mr. Stuart M. Shaw

FEBRUARY 25—4 P.M.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Lecture Hall

Topic: The Pattern of Classic Art

Speaker: Professor Rhys Carpenter, Bryn Mawr College

FEBRUARY 28—2:15 P.M.

AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE

Halle Auditorium, Cleveland

Conference with National Federation of Modern Language Teachers and American Association of School Administrators

MARCH 31—APRIL 1

NEW ENGLAND CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

Connecticut College, New London

APRIL 7-8

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE

WEST AND SOUTH

Oberlin College

President: Professor Norman W. DeWitt, University of Toronto

Secretary: Professor F. S. Dunham, University of Michigan

APRIL 28-29

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE

ATLANTIC STATES

Philadelphia

President: Professor George D. Hadzsits, University of Pennsylvania

Les Cohortes Prétoriennes. By MARCEL DURRY.

Pages 454, 12 plates, 1 plan. Boccard, Paris 1938 (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Fascicule 146)

In this monumental work Durry has courageously pierced the sacred ring of fire with which historical tradition has surrounded the praetorian guard. Armed with the sober record of all the evidence (literary, epigraphical, papyrological, numismatic, and archaeological), he has succeeded in demolishing the conventional rhetorical caricature, inspired by a series of dramatic incidents, of the élite of the garrison of imperial Rome, "whose licentious fury was the first symptom and cause of the decline of the Roman empire" (Gibbon). Paradoxical as it may seem, the praetorian cohorts emerge from Durry's study as a cohesive force linking the imperial armies in the provinces with Rome and retarding their barbarization.

Conceiving the praetorians not as an isolated phenomenon but as an integral factor in the imperial organization of the first three centuries of the empire, Durry has illuminated every aspect of their history—the origin of the corps in Republican tradition; its military organization and relation to the rest of the garrison of Rome; its barracks on the Viminal, the *castra praetoria*; its hierarchy of officers culminating in the *praefectus praetorio*; its distinctive military standards and armor; the method of recruitment, length of service, pay, and duties of the praetorians; their life as veterans, and their religious practices; their political rôle from Augustus to Constantine. Among the important contributions of Durry to the subject are: the revision of the generally accepted number (one thousand) of the effectives in each cohort during the first two centuries of the empire to 500; the identification of praetorians on historical reliefs; the establishment of the theoretical inferiority of the praetorians to the

legionaries; the discovery of an equestrian career open to praetorians who rose from the ranks.

It is clear that the praetorian guard was as characteristic of the principate as the *princeps* himself, and that it remained an important weight in the delicate balance of forces established by Augustus and maintained by his successors until the decentralizing policy of Diocletian and Constantine sealed the doom of the highest paid and most envied soldiers in the Roman military machine. While the rôle they played in a number of crises has caught the fancy of historians ancient and modern, for the greater part of the three centuries of their existence they were obedient servants of the emperors. In the first two centuries only Galba and Pertinax were cut down by them. Their greatest contribution to the stability of the empire was in the provinces where, as instructors and officers they exerted a beneficent influence in Romanizing the imperial legions. The overwhelming majority of the prefects of the praetorian guard served loyally. Few suffered the fate of Sejanus and Papinian.

No one interested in the history of the Roman Empire can afford to neglect this important work. It deserves a place among the classics of ancient historiography, alike for the beauty of Durry's style, the perfection of his method, and the significance and soundness of his conclusions. Durry has left only one thing to be desired, an exhaustive study of the *praefectus praetorio*, which would require another volume of this size.

MEYER REINHOLD

BROOKLYN COLLEGE

The Greeks in Bactria and India. By W. W. TARN. Pages xxiii, 539, 2 plates, 3 maps. Macmillan, New York and Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1938 \$8.

The Hellenistic period with its scattered and scanty evidence cutting through the classical, oriental, Indian, and Chinese fields is admittedly one of the most difficult subjects for historical research. Few men have the background and the infinite patience of W. W. Tarn who in this book has rescued from oblivion the story of the eastern outposts of Hellenism, a story quite as important and far-reaching in its consequences as that of the better known kingdoms of the Ptolemies and Seleucids.

The volume opens with a sketch of the Seleucid settlement, its organization, the location of the various cities, and its effect on the East. Discussions of Euthydemus and the march kingdom of Bactria, Demetrius, his invasion of India and achievement of Alexander's ideal of fusion of cultures, and the stories of Antiochus IV and Eucratides each occupy chapters. Menander and his Indian kingdom leads naturally to his successors and the nomad invasions with the subsequent

downfall of the Greek kingdoms. Extensive footnotes enable the reader to reach the ultimate source of almost any statement and twenty-one appendices present evidence on moot points, not suitable for inclusion in the text. The volume is provided with an index, a plate of coins, and three very useful maps.

Evidence for the history of Bactria and the eastern kingdoms comes from a wide variety of sources. The basis for most of the chronology and much of the history must be numismatic; especially in India, archaeology has also been employed by Mr. Tarn with great success. Documents in a dozen or more languages, many of them totally unrelated, provide additional facts. Tarn's hesitation in using the Chinese sources in translation is understandable, but no one man can hope to master all the necessary languages. If we are to have studies of this sort, translations will have to be utilized where necessary.

No one knows better than Tarn the uncertainty of the evidence, and the provocative suggestions with which the book bristles are doubtless intended to be just that. While the reviewer is probably inclined to stay too close to the sources, there is certainly a point where speculation ceases to be profitable. Especially dangerous is the practice of pyramiding evidence where the suggestion of one page becomes a basis for further hypotheses on the next. It is difficult to follow Tarn in many cases: for example, on the basis of a portrait on one coin of not too certain date (196f.) he determines when the person on the coins was born and who his grandfather was! The use of generalities which may have some truth in them to settle some particular question of fact would seem to be questionable historical method. Among such dictums may be noticed (203) "The Parthians . . . except in warfare . . . never invented anything themselves but always copied from the Greeks . . ." and (27, n. 3) ". . . it cannot be supposed that a Parthian was a magistrate of a Greek city unless there be direct evidence."

Further consideration of evidence both written and archaeological from Mesopotamia will serve sometimes to disprove and sometimes to confirm hypotheses present in this book. To mention a minor point for example, Tarn mentions (61, n. 5) the fact that inscriptions with the name "Ak-sak" (Akshak) found at Seleucia settle the location of ancient Akshak-Opis. The matter is not quite so simple. Tarn could not know that the reading of these inscriptions is extremely doubtful but even the published material shows that archaeological evidence from Seleucia from the period of Akshak-Opis is almost totally lacking. Furthermore there are about 60 cuneiform texts which mention one of these places. Thus although the reviewer agrees with Tarn that Opis lies in the vicinity of Seleucia it is possible to argue, and others do so, that Akshak-Opis lies elsewhere, even on the other side of the river. Furthermore the supposed Akshak inscriptions from Seleucia

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were not found in situ or even in a contemporary level and hence are worthless as evidence.

In common with most scholars, Tarn considers (61; cf. also 362) "Seleucia, like a nerve center," was a place where "all the great routes across Asia . . ." met. Archaeological evidence increasingly suggests that Seleucia's main traffic was with the Persian Gulf and the Nabataean Arabs and that the great overland trade largely passed farther to the north.

No doubt some of the older families in both Mesopotamia and Iran would have felt some smart at the statement (33) that "under Greek rule the level of Asia was slowly but steadily tending to rise."

In dealing with personal names greater caution is necessary than is generally employed. Some 35 different Greek names have been collected from the cuneiform documents of Seleucid Orchoe (Uruk-Warka). In a number of cases there is more than one occurrence of the name. Instances of Babylonians or sons of Babylonians taking Greek names are frequent.¹ The names in the Murashu Brothers texts from Babylon, though earlier, suggest name connections extending from India to Egypt. In these texts a man with an unmistakable Babylonian name is specifically stated to have been Egyptian, and examples are known of Persians, the conquering race, whose sons take Babylonian names.

But none of these conclusions affect the real value of Mr. Tarn's work or the essence of his conclusions on the larger issues. Of particular significance is his convincing demonstration that in the east alone was Alexander's ideal of the fusion of East and West carried to its conclusion. The volume will be kept within reach on the desks of those who work in this field for many years.

NEILSON C. DEBEVOISE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Le Lettere di Platone. By GIORGIO PASQUALI. Pages xvi, 278. Le Monnier, Firenze 1938 30 L. (Studi filosofici da Giovanni Gentile. Serie Seconda, Vol. 15)

This new discussion of the problems of the Platonic Epistles is welcome, particularly for its full and satisfactory treatment of the thought of the seventh letter. For the historical background the author follows Hell rather than Egermann. This is an improvement, but Pasquali's dating is as much too late as Egermann's was too early. It was the capture of Syracuse by Hipparinus that intervened between the seventh and eighth letters, not the expulsion of the Dionians from Syracuse to Leontini as Egermann suggests. A faction that is not in power needs an attractive reform program more than one that is in power, as every close observer of political

strife is aware. Nor should a writer with a political program be taken too literally. Pasquali assumes that Dionysius is besieging Syracuse, because he is described as leader of the hostile camp (356a). This need no more be literal than the reference (Theaetetus 153a) to the army of which Homer is general. It is a serious error when Pasquali takes the aorist of *στασιάζειν* (337b) to mean that civil strife is ended. One might as well suppose that the aorist of *νοσείν* means 'to get well.' The mistake of taking Plato literally when he is referring hopefully to the future in Epistle 8, 357b has led most scholars to reject the attested fact that the only son of Dion alive at this time was an infant. He was a focus for the loyalty of the Dionians at Leontini; Plato claims Hipparinus at Syracuse for the good cause; Dionysius at Locri must be won over, though Plato has no hope that he will ever be a philosopher-king. With Hipparinus and the infant there is a possibility, and to this possibility Plato clings with pathetic insistence. In both letters he throws his weight against democratic ideals, which must have been immensely popular. The same men were constantly appearing as tyrants or deliverers according to the point of view of friend or foe. Dionysius was clearly a tyrant, and the fact that Plato includes him in his plans probably points to the fact that he and Hipparinus were members of a common anti-Democratic front that was the one element of stability in a confused situation.

The author accepts as genuine Epistles 6, 11, and possibly 10 in addition to 7 and 8. He rejects the others including 13, 2, and 3, to whose claims he hardly does justice. He writes as an advocate rather than a judge and ignores or misinterprets significant facts. There is no discrepancy between Epistle 3, 318c and Epistle 7, 348b-e if the distinction between expulsion, accompanied by sentence of death and confiscation of property, and the mild penalty of *metastasis* (338b) is kept in mind. The later is temporary *relegatio*, whereas the former is an extreme penalty. Though Pasquali refers to my article in Transactions, American Philological Association 60.1-24, he does not note that I take the proemia of the laws in Epistle 3, 316a to have the same meaning as in Laws 4, 722d where the expression refers to the preceding part of the Laws and not to later preludes to specific enactments. Pasquali rejects Epistle 2 partly because he assumes that Dionysius was not mentally superior. Plato quite plainly says that he was (338d). Nor do I find anything 'ferocemente maligno' in Plato's references to other teachers in Epistles 2 and 13, especially since in each case (360c 6, 314d 7) the meaning is quite inoffensive if we take the pronouns to be neuter, as we should. In any case there is nothing here as scathing as the comparison of sham philosophers to a bald little tinker at Rep. 495e.

The fact that Plato's attitude to Dionysius differs in different letters of different dates is to me evidence of genuineness. Nor shall I believe that any modern

¹See the study appearing shortly by Dr. Raymond A. Bowman in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*.

European knows a priori how a Greek gentleman behaved, until he proves that he knows a priori how a modern Hindu or Chinese gentleman will behave. There are scores of points that I must reserve for discussion elsewhere. Pasquali's book follows the tradition of German scholarship, which in this field is far from reaching its usual high standard, perhaps because psychological interpretation is very important. It is well that the seventh and eighth Epistles have been vindicated for Plato; a champion is still required for the second and third. The rest are not very important in any case.

L. A. POST

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

De Sermone Ammiani Marcellini Quaestiones Variae. By S. BLOMGREN. Pages 185. A. -B. Lundequist, Uppsala 1937 5.75 kr.

Although Ammianus Marcellinus is not exactly a household word, a good deal of attention has been devoted to him of late, as a glance at the biographical notes in the Loeb edition will show. Naturally a great part of this has been bestowed on his text, because of the condition of the single authoritative manuscript (codex V, Fuldensis); for R. P. Robinson has given good reason to believe that the six surviving leaves of codex M (Hersfeldensis) were copied from V; see University of Missouri Studies, XI 3 (1936). These investigations have led to numerous changes in, and additions to, the standard edition of C. U. Clark.

Those stand on firmer ground who have devoted their attention to the Historian's language and style, of whom Blomgren gives a full list in his Index Librorum. These studies also have been helpful in establishing the text, and Blomgren himself presents a long list of passages in which he proposes emendations based on Ammianus' language, many of which support the readings of V.

It is out of the question to give a thorough digest of his 173 pages: only a few interesting points can be touched upon. He devotes 45 pages to asyndeton, which he finds to be more common in some of the writers imitated by Ammianus than has commonly been supposed, and he adds numerous examples from the Historian himself, a good part of which have been disguised by his editors through the insertion of *et* or *-que*: e.g. *Ascalonem Gazam* (xiv 8.11), *consilio prudentia* (xxvii 12.17), and *Verus Severus* (xxiii 5.17), where the omission of *et* makes an effective homoeoteuton, a figure of which Ammianus has many examples (see Blomgren, 117ff.). In some instances the insertion of the copula seems to be called for by the Historian's metrical structure, but Blomgren shares the opinion of an increasing number of scholars, that while Ammianus unquestionably wrote with careful attention to rhythm, he was not a slave to it. In fact, he finds so many examples of three unaccented syllables

between two with accents, instead of the usual two, that he regards this as a legitimate, though somewhat rare, *cursus*. If this is accepted, it makes a good many emendations based upon rhythm unnecessary. He gives due recognition to the fact that short words like *et* and *-que* might easily be overlooked by a scribe, but even so there is a considerable residue of highly probable cases of asyndeton.

Blomgren treats also the various ways in which Ammianus connects sentences, his constructions according to sense (*pars eorum si agros visuri processerint*, xxviii 4.18), his fondness for inconcinnity (*dum colimitia custodiunt duces, et occulta observantur*, xxi 13.4), the ellipsis of *esse*, which he finds to be very frequent, and other topics, including word plays. Of the last-named he has an unusually long list, since it embraces *annominatio* (*ruit potius quam fluit*, xxii 15.9); *nocentes et innocentes*, xviii 3.5, and the like). Some of these examples seem almost too commonplace, such as *artius pes pede conlatus*, xxv 1.18, and *iustorum iniustorumque*, xxii 3.4. Punning word plays are not numerous; two good examples are xxi 7.3, *commendari Constantio . . . ; nemo ab hoc constanti sententia discrepabat*; and xxviii 1.15, *iustitium esse quod timebatur, non iudicium*.

Many other peculiarities of the Historian's diction are discussed in this interesting and valuable contribution. All his examples are illustrated by full sentences, a most commendable practice, but one which makes it difficult to quote many, as one would have to do to make some of his points clear. The monograph is a model of clarity and arrangement, with numerous indices and notes.

JOHN C. ROLFE

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Die Religion der Griechen. Band 3, Von Platon bis Kaiser Julian. By OTTO KERN. Pages v, 352. Weidmann, Berlin 1938

Otto Kern opens this discussion of Greek religion with the influence of the Greek gods in Italy. Greek religion of previous centuries has been discussed in the preceding volumes of his works.

He takes up his subject with the influence of the school of Pythagoras on the religion of that time. The treatment of the similarities of philosophy and religion in one chapter gives the reader many interesting sides of the study and also many difficulties. The part on the beliefs of Alexander the Great, whose life was granted *θεόθεν* according to his biographer Arrian, is extraordinary. Although the results of the great Macedonian conqueror's work affected all the religious history of the Mediterranean world and the civilization descended therefrom, he was not appointed by God as a universal ruler or High Priest, but considered himself the inaugurator of that comprehensive cosmopolit-

anism which reached its zenith in the Roman Empire. The Alexandrian period of literature marked the entrance of many new ideas, beliefs, and peoples into the Greek world, treated in a long chapter (58-110) called Einbruch und Umbruch. This, it may be said, had been promoted by Alexander's deliberate policy of intermixing diverse populations. He emphasized new conceptions in religion, for example 'Αγαθή Τύχη (76), and the influence they had upon the intermingling world of that period. The words 'Ανάγκη, Φύσις, Εἰμαρμένη, and Πρόνοια are incarnated in the deity which the people met in their daily life.

Very cleverly handled is the development of the worship of the Holy Man (θεῖος ἀνὴρ or *Gottmenschen*) to a higher stage of religion. With the polytheism which goes directly back to the Homeric age, he makes a comparison of the different divinities of the classical and Hellenistic ages, and shows how the idea of Μέγας Θεός made its epiphany from that cataclysm of deities.

In the study of the mysteries the author says that the reader easily can see the truth and the error walking side by side, the spirituality of the true Epoptes and the magic sacramentarianism of the literalist, the inability to distinguish between the cult act and the religious experience. He also presents an analysis of the unwillingness of the faithful of one religion to understand the adherent of another, which is one of the great facts in the history of religions and by no means antiquated today. The human mind of today is even separated in religious sympathies by culture, tradition, and experience. He presents a comparison of the old and new festivals, the rites, and how and when the mystery cult entered Greece.

The mystery-religions linked themselves with a pseudo-science, astrology, and with a pseudo-religion, magic (a very dangerous ally), which contributed to their popularity for a time but undermined their spirituality by fostering debilitating credulity and imposing terror upon religion. In his treatment of this subject Kern has used new materials, the lately discovered Papyri Graecae Magicae.

His final chapter brings forth one very interesting point. He thinks that Mariolatry had its foundation in that period, and that the Roman pagan religion was the real ancestor of what we have today in the Catholic church. He goes even further, saying that the Greek religion, and particularly the Eleusinian cult, was one of the mysteries which influenced the Greek church. The Greek Orthodox festival of Virgin Mary on the fifteenth of August is compared with the Iacchus festival in the classical period after Greece defeated the Persians. This procession can also be compared with the Festival of Virgin Mary in Byzantium after the defeat of the Arabians, Huns, and Persians. This same procession still takes places annually on Mount Athos with all the mediaeval grandeur and splendor (276).

In this last section Kern ranges from Aristotle until modern times, dealing mainly with the literature written on the subject by Aristotle himself, Cornutus, Porphyrio, and Proclus. He deals with the writers of the Renaissance, such as Boccaccio, and then in the modern period begins with authors of the Reformations and ends with Wilamowitz. The whole chapter seems to me a bibliographical guide for the study of Greek religion.

The whole work shows a great use of lately discovered sources, although it is regretted that a complete catalogue of these sources is lacking and that British authorities such as Farnell, Angus, and many others have been overlooked. However, the book is written from a philosophical angle rather than from a religious one.

GEORGE ELIAS ZACHARIADES

EVDELOS, NICARIA, GREECE

I Bolli Laterizi e la Storia Edilizia Romana.

By HERBERT BLOCH. I, pages 86; II, pages 87-191. Reprinted from the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale del Governatorato di Roma*, vol. LXIV (1936) and LXV (1937) Rome 1938

This important work of the brilliant young German archaeologist Herbert Bloch well merits reprint from the *Bullettino Comunale*. It is sincerely to be hoped that it may eventually be published in book form.

In Part I (1-26) Bloch explains his reasons for believing that the proper study of brick and tile stamps and the criteria they furnish for dating Roman structures has been sadly neglected. Within the past few years, working in conjunction with eminent Italian archaeologists and directors of excavations, he has personally examined over 2500 stamps, more than 1500 of them *in opera*. Establishing his principles by careful examination of stamps found in buildings absolutely dated by historical and structural criteria, e.g. the *Thermae Traiani* and the *Villa Hadriana*, he has succeeded in determining groups of buildings more or less contemporaneous, describing more precisely the chronology of many undated stamps and establishing the absolute date of the monuments dealt with.

The famous controversy in 1884 between Lanciani on the one hand and Jordan and Dressel (the latter editor of *CIL* XV) on the other in regard to the *Atrium Vestae* produced from Lanciani the threat (never carried out) to write a monograph on "the uselessness of brick stamps as a means of dating an edifice." The blighting influence of this sarcastic comment served to bring about a general neglect of the proper testimony and importance of such criteria in the subsequent half-century. Valuable as was Miss Van Deman's later work on the *Atrium Vestae* in 1909 it now stands in need of revision in the light of further facts ascertained by Bloch. The recent attempts (1929-36) of Cozzo to

place the Pantheon in its present form in the time of Septimius Severus is definitely refuted and its Hadrianic character established.

Within the necessarily brief limits of this review it is impossible to set forth all the arguments employed by Bloch in establishing his points. Suffice it to say here that on the vexed question of the tremendous number of stamps bearing the consular date for 123 A.D. Bloch's investigation seems to prove it due to the tremendous upsurge of building under the direct orders of the indefatigable Hadrian and the assumption by several potteries of an imperial status, coupled with an apparent injunction necessitating the use of consular dating, beginning in that year.

In part II (26-187) Bloch presents a complete catalog of stamps examined by him, grouped according to monuments investigated in and near Rome, together with conclusions drawn therefrom. Briefly summarized, the fifteen most important of these conclusions are:

The traditional date of the Domus Flavia is confirmed, the Palace having been completed first, the construction of the Stadium continuing to the last years of Domitian (29).

The so-called 'Temple of Augustus' and S. Maria Antiqua form a single Domitianic structure. Bloch believes that the real Temple of Augustus must be sought for on the Palatine, on the side facing the Capitolium (36).

The traditional date (104-109 A.D.) of the Thermae Traiana is absolutely established. Bloch awaits with interest further confirmation if and when the entire group is excavated (49).

The Market of Trajan was built *before* the Forum was completed and dedicated in 112. The stairs and the house beneath the Loggia dei Cavalieri di Rodi are in origin Domitianic, subsequently altered by Apollodorus (54 and 57).

The Basilica Ulpia was completed prior to 113 (61).

The brickwork of the recently excavated Forum Caesaris and the Clivus Argentarius is definitely Trajanic and is to be assigned to the rebuilding necessitated by the construction of Trajan's own forum adjoining. This confirms the opinion of Colini, and the attempts of others to attribute it to Hadrian are rejected (65-67).

The recognition of five distinct periods in the construction of the Atrium Vestae by Van Deman, accepted by Ashby and Lugli, must be modified. Two of these periods distinguished by her as Hadrianic and Antoninian represent in reality a single phase definitely to be placed in the early part of the second half of Trajan's reign. The testimony of the stamps is further confirmed by numismatic evidence. The Aediculum may be early Hadrianic (85).

The 'Quarter of the Docks' in Ostia, investigated by Carcopino in 1910, is proved to be a single unit erected in the space of a few years in the beginning of Hadrian's reign (96).

The Casa dei Triclinii in Ostia is contemporaneous with the foregoing warehouses (97).

The modifications in the Portico of Claudius at Porto can be placed between 117 and 120 (100).

A like date can be ascribed to the so-called Imperial Palace at Porto (102).

The absolute homogeneity of the Pantheon is established, the attempts of Cozzo and others to assign it or parts of it to a later date refuted, and its Hadrianic reconstruction placed in 118-119 with dedication later, perhaps in 125-128 (117).

The presence of Hadrian in residence at his Villa Tiburtina is not, as commonly thought by Lugli and others, to be put only after his return from his second voyage in 134 but can be established by literary evidence as early as his return from the

first voyage in 125 (158). The testimony of a great number of brick stamps examined *in situ* by Bloch confirms this as well as the excellent reorganization of the brick and tile industry under the impulse of Hadrian's extensive building program (183). Pending possible clarification from further excavation of the Villa Hadriana, the buildings there can be assigned to three groups corresponding to the marked resumption of activity upon his successive returns to Rome from his tours. Thus a fairly exact chronology can be established for the separate buildings of this vast complex within the periods 118-125; 125-133; 133-138 (182-183).

The conclusions of Lehmann-Hartleben in 1935 dating the Palace of the Gardens of Sallust in the latter part of Hadrian's reign are confirmed (184).

The villa 'Le Vignacce' near the Acqua Marcia southeast of Porta Furba is contemporaneous with the second period of Hadrian (191).

In conclusion we may hope for the eventual completion of the excellent work of this exceedingly able scholar who has added so much to the field of Latin epigraphy and above all to that increasingly important body of knowledge regarding Roman construction and its dating. His work has received merited approbation from such scholars as Axel Boëthius and Rostovtzeff. It is highly regrettable that the spread of anti-Semitism has made his path difficult if not impossible. It is to be hoped that good fortune may permit him the larger work he contemplates.

RAYMOND T. OHL

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

The Origins of the Gospels. By FLOYD V. FILSON. Pages 216. Abingdon Press, New York 1938 \$2.

In the course of writing a brief survey of recent trends in the study of the four gospels for the minister who wishes to keep abreast of the times, Professor Filson has produced a volume which will serve the same purpose for others who wish a guide through this important and highly controversial field of study.

A layman would probably omit most of the chapter on The Minister and Gospel Criticism. The second chapter, The Quest for the Original Greek Text, is an admirable and thoroughly up-to-date review of the many important textual discoveries from the time of Westcott and Hort to the present day. Among the most interesting of these is the publication in 1935 of a fragment of five verses from a codex of the gospel of John which is dated no later than 150 A.D. Indeed, the accumulating evidence seems to show that the codex or book form gained currency first in Christian circles.

Readers of CLASSICAL WEEKLY are already familiar with some aspects of the controversy over the original language of the gospels from the review by Professor Ralph Marcus of Professor C. C. Torrey's *Our Translated Gospels: Some of the Evidence* (CW 32.69-70). After a fair presentation of Dr. Torrey's claim that the four gospels were translated (sometimes poorly) from written Aramaic documents, the author reviews the criticisms made of it, and concludes that, although it

has contributed much to our understanding of the Aramaic background of the gospels, the theory cannot be maintained in its present form. In fact, in view of the criticism of his theory by Semitists like Professor Marcus and others on the one hand, and of New Testament scholars in general on the other, it is difficult to see how the more extreme aspects of Dr. Torrey's position can be maintained.

In the field of synoptic studies, the tendency of the school of *Formgeschichte* has been to focus attention on the separate units of the gospel tradition and their *Sitz im Leben*. Dr. Filson recognizes the important contributions made by this new and vigorous school both in Germany and in this country, but he rightly insists that the gospels are more than mere agglomerations of independent units.

After a chapter on the synoptic gospels as units, Dr. Filson pilots the reader skillfully through the maze of contradictory theories which have grown up around the Fourth Gospel and the other Johannine literature. His procedure here, as elsewhere, is to review the facts impartially, and to suggest conclusions which not only avoid Scylla and Charybdis, but conserve the values which have made the gospels the most influential books in the world.

Dr. Filson is Professor of New Testament in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago. The book has a foreword by Professor F. C. Grant of Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

F. W. GINGRICH

ALBRIGHT COLLEGE

Julian the Apostate and the Rise of Christianity. By F. A. RIDLEY. Pages xi, 260. Watts, London 1937 15s.

'Julian could and would have destroyed Christianity but for the accident of his death' is the thesis which the author sets forth in a general survey, in modern political terms, of the cultural change and religious revolution that took place between the founding of the Empire and the death of Theodosius.

The Roman decline in the first century B.C. was arrested by the fascist empire of the Caesars which, after more than two centuries of material prosperity, began to collapse through the breakdown of the fiscal system and of the army, and through renewed attacks from outside. Ruin was averted by the establishment of the Byzantine totalitarian state which, in order to preserve absolute authority, was forced to harness to itself the power of religion. The burning question was, "Which religion?" Aurelian chose Mithraism, Constantine—as a purely political expedient—Christianity. Julian decided to restore the traditional civilization of antiquity and the pagan gods who were its cultural symbol. His tremendous success in his short reign and the wave of relief that swept over the Christian leaders

at his death reveal that the triumph of Christianity was far from inevitable. The choice of the state religion was still the prerogative of the absolute ruler. Julian's attempt to revive classical civilization was doomed to failure, for the world of the fourth century was too far decayed. But if a Persian lance had not laid him low at the very beginning of his reign, his military prowess and his skillful use of propaganda (made evident by his laws concerning education) would undoubtedly have crushed Christianity and the invading barbarians would have conquered worshippers of Apollo and not of Christ. Then, relieved of the reactionary hand of the Church, the West would have emerged centuries earlier from the Dark Ages. Julian thus stands out as one of the crucial figures of history.

The author has given us a colorful and vigorous picture of the champion of paganism and has argued an interesting and stimulating thesis with brilliance and eloquence. Yet, to speculate on what might have happened had historical events turned out differently is dangerous. That Julian would have been able to destroy Christianity utterly must always remain a moot question. Even if he had, the pupil of Iamblichus, his paganism might very well have displayed the same fanaticism and superstition which had submerged Christianity. Ridley's book, although it does not give the answer to this virtually insoluble problem, restates it in fresh and provocative terms.

LIONEL COHEN

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Les Peuples de l'Orient Méditerranéen. I. Le Proche-Orient Asiatique. By LOUIS DELAPORTE. Pages xxxv, 361. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1938 50 fr.

This, the most recent of a large group of works by Professor Delaporte on the ancient orient, is a useful schoolbook based on standard sources. Covering the history of the Near East (which he conveniently defines so as not to include Egypt) from the pre-history of Palestine to the death of Alexander, with sections on the early city-states of Mesopotamia, Akkad, the old Babylonian Empire, the Cassites, the Hittites, the Hurrians, Israel, Assyria, neo-Babylonia, and Persia, this volume is mostly quite readable, though at times painstakingly detailed. For the classical scholar and others not too intimately concerned with the standard controversial points of the specialist, this history is quite satisfactory; orientalists may well disagree on certain matters of chronology, particularly in its early Mesopotamian aspects. It is unfortunate that the book appeared too early to permit the use of the evidence from last season's field reports. The author is to be commended for his numerous bibliographical notes and especially for his references to the ancient texts.

ROBERT L. P. SAGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

ANCIENT AUTHORS

Basil. BIDEZ, J. *Le traité d'astrologie cité par Saint Basile dans son Hexaéméron.* Calls attention to astrological conceptions in the Zodiologium paralleling those attacked by St. Basil, Hom. 6 in Hexaemeron. St. Basil was not, however, entirely opposed to astrological doctrines.

AC 7 (1938) 19-21 (Pratt)

Horace. BOYANCÉ, P. *Études sur Horace.* Discussion of lectures on Horace at the Istituto di Studi Romani, published as Orazio nella letteratura mondiale, 14 (1936); and a critical estimate of the études horatiennes published by the University of Brussels in 1937.

REA 40 (1938) 47-51 (Pratt)

Nonnus. LIND, L. R. *Un-Hellenic Elements in the "Dionysiaca".* Nonnus' literary departures from Homeric epic are "lack of form and restraint in narrative, rhetorical excess of antithesis, extravagant imagery and use of epithets and similes, tapestry effect of description." His Oriental psychological characteristics are "peculiar and wanton cruelty, lack of humor, gluttonous sensuality, false modesty, grotesqueness of imagination."

AC 7 (1938) 57-65 (Pratt)

Stesichorus. DELATTE, L. *Note sur un fragment de Stésichore* (37 Bergk, 14 Diehl). The poet refers to a spring-festival of purification observed in the western Greek colonies; on this occasion paeans, commonly employed in antiquity for purification, were publicly sung.

AC 7 (1938) 23-29 (Pratt)

Vergil. HUBAUX, J. *Sur l'Épode XIII du Cataplepton.* The hypothesis of Ovidian authorship is discredited chiefly by the fact that Ovid, in his poems from Tomi, never complains of the heat. The other difficulties which have been raised do not seem important.

AC 7 (1938) 77-80 (Pratt)

Xenophanes. BOWRA, C. M. *Fragment 1.* The fragment follows traditional elegiac composition, accepts sympotic ritual and uses typical language and ideas of sixth-century aristocratic society. B. therefore suggests that this society was more tolerant and more critical in theological matters than was fifth-century democratic society.

CPh 33 (1938) 353-367 (D'Arms)

EPIGRAPHY. PAPYROLOGY. PALAEOGRAPHY

EDGAR, C. C. *The Stolistae of the Labyrinth.* A revision of PSI 857.

APF 13 (1938) 76-77 (Husselman)

MENTZ, —. *Die Entzifferung einiger Texte in griechischer Tachygraphie.* On the basis of Milne's *Greek Shorthand Manuals* (London 1934), Mentz has reexamined several shorthand texts previously published. Two of the texts examined are from the Halle collection of wax tablets, and contain texts in shorthand here identified as 2 Cor. 1.3 and Ephes. 1.15. The other two texts are Pap. gr. 14 of the National- und Universitätsbibliothek at Prague (formerly of the Sammlung Papyrus Wessely), which is an unidentified Christian text, only partially read; and CIL III 8899, which has a brief shorthand inscription here tentatively deciphered.

APF 13 (1938) 61-75 (Husselman)

MITFORD, T. B. *Contributions to the Epigraphy of Cyprus; Some Hellenistic Inscriptions.* The author publishes with extensive commentary 18 inscriptions, most of which are in the Cyprus Museum at Nicosia.

APF 13 (1938) 13-38 (Husselman)

VAN DE WEERD, H. *Notes d'Épigraphie latine.* Palestinian inscription published by C. H. Moore (D. G.

Lyon) Harv. Theol. Rev. 2 (1909) 110-111 and reinterpreted by H. Vincent Rev. Biblique 6 (1909) 441-445. In line 2 reads VEXIL(lationis); the two vertical lines in 5 may be meant for ET. The date of the inscription, subsequently to be treated more fully, may tentatively be considered posterior to 106 and, probably, to the reign of Hadrian.

AC 7 (1938) 81-85 (Pratt)

WESTERMANN, WILLIAM L. *Komanos of the First Friends* (187(?)—161 B.C.). The author publishes the fragmentary Inv. 481 in the Columbia University Library, and discusses in detail its contribution to our knowledge of the career of Komanos.

APF 13 (1938) 1-12 (Husselman)

VAN DE WOESTIJNE, P. *A propos de l'Épistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem.* Lists deviations of codex Parisinus latinus 7561, pp. 18-28 from Kuebler's text. This ms is closely related to H and represents a different tradition from the other mss.

AC 7 (1938) 67-76 (Pratt)

ZUCKER, FRIEDRICH. *Nachträge zur 'Doppelschrift spätptolemäischer Zeit aus der Garnison von Hermopolis Magna'.* Additions and corrections to the inscription published in the Abh. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. 1937, Phil.-hist. Kl. No. 6 (1938).

Aeg 18 (1938) 279-284 (Husselman)

ART. ARCHAEOLOGY

AUDIAT, J. *Sculptures de Sicyone et céramique proto-corinthienne.* In relation to P. de la Coste-Messelière's comparative treatment of archaic bas-reliefs with proto-Corinthian vase-paintings (in Au Musée de Delphes) and his suggestion that the former may provide evidence for the dating of the latter, the writer reviews the problem of the dating of the proto-Corinthian ware and makes suggestions for the reconsideration of this question.

REA 40 (1938) 173-176 (Pratt)

BRECCIA, EVARISTO. *Le prime ricerche italiane ad Antinoo (Scavi dell'Istituto papirologico fiorentino negli anni 1936-1937).* A report of the excavations of 1936-1937 made by Breccia, supplemented by a report of those of 1937-1938 by Sergio Donadoni. The most important find was a Christian funerary chapel with well-preserved frescoes. Some papyri and inscriptions, mostly Coptic, were also found.

Aeg 18 (1938) 285-318 (Husselman)

CHAPOUTHIER, F. *La coiffe d'Artémis dans Éphèse trois fois néocore.* Discussion, with two plates, of a marble cylindrical fragment of a statue of Ephesian Artemis, from the period of the Antonines, representing the headdress of the goddess crowned by a model of a temple. This tripartite temple may represent the temple of Artemis and the two imperial temples at Ephesus.

REA 40 (1938) 125-132 (Pratt)

DUGAS, CH. *A propos de Polygnotos II.* Scyphus treated by D. M. Robinson and Sarah E. Freeman in AJA 40 (1936) 215-227. Face A represents Telemachus pursuing the faithless servants (Od. 22.457-460); face B, Penelope follows Eurycleia (Or. 23.85). The work manifests close affinity with the Chiuri and Berlin scyphi, the craftsman of which is perhaps not to be distinguished from Polygnotos II.

REA 40 (1938) 43-46 (Pratt)

HUBAUX, J. *Une heure à Leptis Magna.* Description, with eleven plates, of Roman remains at Leptis.

AC 7 (1938) 51-56 (Pratt)

LAKE, KIRSOPP and LAKE, SILVA. *The Citadel of Van*. Van was a capital of 'Ur-Artu, a (Hurrian?) civilization mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions, centred in eastern Anatolia c. 1000-600 B.C. The Vanni wrote in cuneiform; a trilingual inscription found near Van led to the partial decipherment of the Vannic language. Dr. and Mrs. Lake conducted a preliminary campaign at Van in the summer of 1938 in behalf of Brown University and the University Museum. A trial trench in the plain south of the citadel revealed a thin occupation stratum characterized by red glazed Vannic pottery. The north slope of the hill yielded painted buff pottery, further deposits of red ware and a pretentious rock platform with niches, benches and an altar. Work within the mediaeval walls of the citadel was deferred until they could be mapped, but new fragments of Vannic inscriptions were observed. A trench at Kalehjik, a smaller mound to the north, produced red and painted buff Vannic wares, and many implements of native obsidian, continuing in use long after the introduction of metal. The authors prefer not to tell why the modern city was abandoned to picturesque decay. Illustrated.
Asia 39 (1939) 74-80 (J. J.)

HISTORY. SOCIAL STUDIES

ALFÖLDI, A. *La grande crise du monde romain au III^e siècle*. A comprehensive discussion of third-century Roman monarchy, the army, social and economic conditions, and art.
AC 7 (1938) 5-18 (Pratt)

AYMARD, A. *Une ville de la Babylonie séleucide d'après les contrats cunéiformes*. The Babylonian town of Orchoi (Warka) under Seleucid domination.
REA 40 (1938) 5-42 (Pratt)

BENOIT, F. *La voie d'Italie en Espagne à l'époque d'Auguste sur le territoire d'Arles*. Discussion, with map and one plate, of the network of Roman roads in Spain.
REA 40 (1938) 133-148 (Pratt)

CALDERINI, ARISTIDE. *Censimento topografico delle banche dell'Egitto greco-romano*. A list of the private and public banks of Egypt arranged according to geographical location.
Aeg 18 (1938) 244-278 (Husselman)

CHAPOT, V. *Sentiments des anciens sur le machinisme*. Observations concerning slavery, the ancient attitude toward manual labor, and the development of machinery, in connection with P.-M. Schuhl's *Machinisme et philosophie*. Among the Greeks social and geographical conditions impeded the development of machinery, for which no need was felt in their simple way of life.
REA 40 (1938) 158-162 (Pratt)

DEMARGNE, P. *Crète-Egypte-Asie*. Various theories on the origin of the Aegean civilization are reviewed and the hypothesis set forth that trade from Crete to Egypt went via the Asia Minor coast and Syria. Neolithic Crete was but part of the Cycladic-Anatolian cultural area, as shown by religious and artistic remains, and in the Early and Middle Minoan Periods many objects of trade indicate influence from Syria and Mesopotamia. The prototypes of many Cretan figurines, animals, jewelry and some of the pottery are to be found in Babylonia, not predynastic Egypt. Likewise in Asia are found the early signs of metallurgy.
AEHE¹ 2 (1938) 29-66 (Hansen)

HOHL, E. *Der Cupido der Augustusstatue von Primaporta und der grosse Pariser Cameo*. The Paris cameo is a glorification of Germanicus and is to be dated ca. 20 A.D. In heaven Augustus is represented en-

throned, with Alexander the Great as world conqueror before him. To the left is Drusus the elder and on the right Germanicus on a winged steed is being received among the gods. The small cupid represents Gaius, the uncle of the future emperor. In the main scene, Tiberius and Livia Augusta take leave of Germanicus as he leaves for the East. Beside him stands his mother, and behind him is Agrippina with the infant Gaius. Behind Livia stands the younger Drusus with his wife Livilla seated behind him.
Klio 31 (1938) 269-284 (A. C. Johnson)

KEIL, J. *Kaiser Marcus und die Thronfolge*. Since Marcus was the first of the second-century emperors who had children, his selection of his son to succeed him is not necessarily evidence of weakness. He had given his five daughters in marriage to distinguished men in the state, though not necessarily members of the old nobility. Marcus could not very well select one of his sons-in-law as successor without causing trouble, nor could he go outside the family for a successor for the same reason. The choice of Commodus was apparently the only solution open to him.
Klio 31 (1938) 293-300 (A. C. Johnson)

MUNRO, J. A. R. *The Constitution of Dracontides*. The Thirty were elected first to draw up the *patrios politeia* soon after the treaty of peace and later as a "Government established in accordance with the constitution which they had meanwhile produced." Probably a majority of the original Thirty were reelected. The Thirty consisted of an equal number of representatives from each of the three parties—"ten nominated by Theramenes, ten designated by the oligarchic Ephors, and ten elected from among the citizens present in the Assembly." Theramenes thus, at first, held the balance between the oligarchic and democratic sections, but soon Critias and his minority seized control. This came about because the three Tens were to rotate in office. The oligarchic Ten by arrangement or by lot obtained the first turn. Then Critias and his section, intent on staying in power, began to purge the coalition of Liberals and Moderates—aiming especially at Theramenes. The rest of the paper is devoted to a technical discussion of various provisions in the constitution of Dracontides.
CQ 32 (1938) 152-166 (Fine)

PALANQUE, J.-R. *A propos de la conversion de Constantin*. Reply to Seston's review REA 40.106-107 of the writer's work on Constantine in the series *Hommes d'Etat*. The determination of the year 312 as the turning point of Constantine's conversion was not based upon the ecclesiastical tradition recorded in the *Vita Constantini* but upon the testimony of Lactantius and the policy of Constantine in 313-314. The evidence against the composition of the *Vita* by Eusebius of Caesarea is not convincing.
REA 40 (1938) 183-184 (Pratt)

PRZEWORSKI, S. *La préhistoire au Caucase*. An account of recent work, chiefly Russian, on the prehistoric period of the Caucasus and a detailed, critical discussion of F. Hancar, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens von den Anfängen seiner Besiedlung bis in die Zeit seiner frühen Metallurgie*.
REA 40 (1938) 177-182 (Pratt)

ROSTOVTSSEFF, M. *Kaiser Trajan und Dura*. A reply to Groag and Degraffi, wherein R. maintains his former theory that Dura was evacuated by Trajan before his death, and the evacuation of the Mesopotamian area was the result of a policy initiated by Trajan and not by Hadrian.
Klio 31 (1938) 285-292 (A. C. Johnson)

¹Annales de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes de Gand.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Compiled from books received, publishers' and booksellers' announcements, and publications noted by other reviews. Errors and omissions are inevitable, but CW tries to ensure accuracy and completeness. Those who have not written for CW and who wish to submit sample reviews are urged to choose books from this list.

ANCIENT AUTHORS

Arbeo. SKILES, JONAH W. D. The Latinity of Arbeo's Vita Sancti Corbiniani and of the Revised Vita et Actus Beati Corbiniani Episcopi Frigisingensis. Pages vii, 156. University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago 1938 (Dissertation)

Aristotle. NORSIA, MEDEA. Un frammento di fisica aristotelica in un papiro fiorentino. Pages 12, 1 plate. Zanichelli, Bologna 1938

Augustine. ABERCROMBIE, NIGEL. Saint Augustine and French Classical Thought. Pages 123. Oxford University Press, Oxford 1938

Caesar. BARWICK, KARL. Caesars Commentarii und das Corpus Caesarianum. Pages iv, 222. Dieterich, Leipzig 1938 (Philologus Suppl. Bd. 31, H. 2) 15 M.

Cicero. Index Verborum Ciceronis Epistularum. By WILLIAM ABBOTT OLDFATHER, HOWARD VERNON CANTER, KENNETH MORGAN ABBOTT, with the assistance of friends and students and in completion of the task inaugurated by M. N. Wetmore and A. M. Dame. Pages 585. University of Illinois Press, Urbana 1938 \$9

PACKER, MARY N PORTER. Cicero's Presentation of Epicurean Ethics. A study based primarily on De Finibus I and II. Pages ix, 127. Author, New York 1938 (Dissertation)

Euripides. PAGE, DENYS L., ed. Medea. Pages 258. Oxford University Press, New York 1938 \$2.75

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Julianus Pomerius. PRENDERGAST, SISTER M. AGNES CECILE. The Latinity of the De Vita Contemplativa of Julianus Pomerius. Pages xxvii, 185. Catholic University of America, Washington 1938 (Patristic Studies, 55) (Dissertation)

Oratores Attici. DE VRIES, JOHANNES. Untersuchungen über die Sperrung von Substantiv und Attribut in der Sprache der attischen Redner. Pages 166. Dietrich, Göttingen 1938 (Dissertation)

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Plotinus. PUECH, HENRI-CHARLES. Position spirituelle et signification de Plotin. Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1938 (Bulletin de l'association Guillaume Budé, no. 61) 3 fr.

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Vitruvius Pollio. STÖRZENACKER, ERICH, ed. and tr. into German. Ueber die Baukunst (De architectura). Pages 128, 32 plates. Bildgut-Verl., Essen 1938 18 M.

PREHISTORY

AUTRAN, CHARLES. Tyr Egéenne, son nom et la route de l'Inde. 2 fasc. Geuthner, Paris 1938 12 fr. each

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SEURE, G. A la recherche d'Ithaque et de Troie. Recueil de 8 articles extraits du Journal des Savants 1932-1933. Pages 128, 2 folding maps, 1 fig. Geuthner, Paris 1938 60 fr.

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BURNS, R. E. and A. E. Latin for School Certificate. Pages 171. Macmillan, London 1938 2s. 6d.

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